Another Year's Gone by

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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"GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS"

(By Swami Anand)

Two thousand years ago the Prince of Peace atoned for the sins of his fellow-men on earth by mounting the Cross with words of forgiveness and love for his persecutors. And though man felt ashamed and humiliated he did not mend his ways.

The primitive man hunted for food; in the middle ages he killed for glory. The supermen of our age stalked the globe with a technique of slaughter and enslavement in the wake of greed and exploitation. The earth was rent with weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. Humanity lay prostrate under the agony of unnamable outrages.

In the midst of all this clash and conflict came, once more, a Wise Man from the East. Like the Good Shepherd he shouldered the ailing sheep, the insulted indentured Indian, toiling far away from home, and comforted him and his tribe. With words soothing and life-giving, he sayeth unto them: "Come ye that grieve and are heavily laden. I bring to you good tidings, — the Gospel of Resistance."

And he shepherded his flock and ministered unto them in their afflictions with tenderness and affection. He taught the worm to turn. He taught little mothers to stand upright and resist racial arrogance and insult, marching with babes in their arms and courting prisons. He sat among overbearing foreigners and pleaded his people's cause, disarming them with his courtesy and his integrity. He evoked their sympathy with his gentle sufferings and earned a great renown.

And behold, he returns homeward to his own people and concludes with them, once more, a new Covenant: "It has been said by those of old: 'Ye resist not evil'; or 'resist evil with evil'. But I say unto you, resist evil within and without you, with the whole might of your soul; resist it with Non-violence, resist it with Truth, resist it without malice. Repent ye, and do penance for your sins, collective as well as individual. Eschew all violence, eschew all hatred, shed all fear and forge yourselves into finest weapons of resistance. You are the salt of the earth. Ye are to establish once more, by testifying to it in and with your lives in this holy land of synthesis, the supremacy of soul over matter; of God over Mammon; of service over self-interest. And ye are to carry the Gospel of this non-violent resistance to the farthest ends of the earth. In this redeeming task, he who shall lose his life shall find it, and he who shall seek to save his life shall lose it."

And he sayeth unto them again:

"Despise no man; but believe in his innate goodness. Harbour no ill-will against him; only resist the evil that has seized him. Resist and suffer cheerfully with no thought of returning evil for evil. Shun all fear. Be brave and wield the weapon of Truth and Non-violence, which is Love abounding. They are but the obverse and reverse of the same coin. To me there is no God other than this. It is my sole weapon and my refuge. And know ye, that it is not the weapon of the weak. It is for the bravest. Learn ye, therefore, to wield it against all your ills. It shall sustain you against the mightiest. For it is forged on the anvil of Love that exalteth and that abideth in God."

And behold! Great multitudes followed him.

And he covered the entire land with his journeys, plying his wheel, and with its thread linked men with men — whole masses of them.

The toilers came from their fields and spinners from their hovels; fishermen left their nets, tradesmen their counters. Rich men, encumbered with large possessions, came too, in search of solace, and he lightened their burdens. Women came resurrected and awakened to the true dignity of their state. The untouchables came with their limbs withered and their souls crushed under the weight of age-long inequities. And he ministered unto them with all the passion of his soul and made them whole. He made them God's chosen. Came also the publicans, the hated ones — servants of Government — who served the alien rulers and worked against their own country for a mess of pottage. And he called upon them to repent and turned many into humble servants of the dumb millions. Lepers came and he built them shelters and

himself washed their wounds. Came also the pharisees, the learned ones, negotiators and peace-mongers. And he suffered them all and treated them with unfailing patience and tenderness.

They came from distant lands and from across the seven seas. They came from all parts of the earth. And he taught them all and made them good men and women. Even like one of his great predecessors, —The Guru (Gobind) — he would make the sparrow hunt down the hawk, but with a different weapon. With patient labours of a lifetime extending over half a century and spread over the entire land, he worked on his people to forge his weapon and to temper it.

Out of dross he made precious metal; out of earth-clods he made material to challenge and defy the might of an insolent empire, to whose people he bore the greatest friendship, and yet whose end he ordained, even as Krishna had ordained the end of the arrogant Jadavas. He called upon the foreigner to quit the land which he had bled white and in which he had worked much inequity.

And behold! For the first time in human history the world witnessed an epic struggle of a whole nation locked for three decades in a non-violent combat with the alien rulers so that her chains should break. A Saga of peaceful peasantries challenging the might of established authority, armed to the teeth, by refusing to submit to its unjust levies, inviting upon themselvs untold sufferings and living under conditions of a siege till the privations turn them and their cattle white; of millions throughout the length and breadth of the country defying salt laws in the face of lathis, tear-gas, horse-hoofs; women refusing to part with their pinch of salt till their bones dislodge; men tying their own hands with iron wires to prevent slackening of their grip on raided salt; of gallant men who would be counted as among the very peak of any army, offering to be beaten or pounded to death, by official myrmidons, without so much as raising their eyelids in protest; of statesmen, savants, tribunes of their own people — objects of world adoration, leaders of men and of an age, who would adorn the halls of any international assembly — accepting cheerfully to surrender long indefinite years of their great lives to be wasted in cold, dark, solitary dungeons on a par with felons; of Nation's bards pouring forth the agony of an age before sobbing magistrates in crowded court-rooms; of apostles who walked the land bare-foot, broadcasting the New Gospel, carrying neither purse nor shoes nor yet staves, pleading guilty against their accusers and urging the courts to inflict on them maximum penalties; of wandering monks offering to starve themselves to death in protest against outraged womanhood through long agonizing fasts without a trace of ill-will towards the guilty; of frail little men offering to lay down their lives denying themselves in their prison cells all food and water till death do deliver them, and in the meanwhile coaxing their captors to administer without blame 'some suitable poison' when their sufferings annoyed them; of street urchins proudly mounting the gallows after being court-martialled for bold pranks; of village peasants naively facing military reprisals, with no better armour than plywood planks hung in front of their chests; of whole masses of unarmed, undrilled men and women flinging themselves in blind abandon against bayonets, bullets, guns and bombs.

Righteousness the world over wailed in oblivion. Untruth was in excelsis. Naked Fascism masquerading in the garb of aggrieved innocence stalked the land. It maligned virtue with impunity. Truth was lynched. The stars in high heavens wept over the inequities and the vileness of man.

And against it all, in his indignation, the Father of the Nation lay crouched and twisted on his Bed of Fire for the tenth time, challenging his accusers from behind the prison. And his protest rang through the world penetrating the Iron Curtain. His Great Disciple, who was to him more than his own son, and 'with whom my Father is well pleased', lay in a handful of ashes at the prison corner. And the gentle Mother of the Nation was to meet her millions no more. Outside the prison raged Revolution. The Empire shook, and his mighty accusers trembled. They fell flat. Their chagrin knew no bounds.

And behold! The Titan collapsed under the weight of his own inequities.

And he quitted; but not without upholding the disruptionist who clamoured for rending his own Mother's garments. Freedom came, but Her face was ghastly. Brother flew at the throat of brother, and women wept. Millions were uprooted and flung on the roadside. Men lost all their sense and shame, and they burned and killed and perpetrated unmentionable abominations. Cities swelled with fleeing men and wailing women. They cursed and called aloud for retribution.

Overwhelmed and humiliated, the anguished Father, bent under the infirmities of age, runs once more to their succour, even like the hen covering her brood under her wings against death. He takes his abode among the sorrowing. He faces the Fiery Ordeal again and again and works miracles. He repeats to them his lasting message: "Not through hatred and ill-will ye shall seek to avenge yourselves. 'Vengence is mine' sayeth the Lord. Grieve not; forsake your fear; work and strive for goodwill and unity. For know ye who are afflicted, that Love exalteth, Love alone triumphs."

And he gathered them around him evening after evening as was his wont, and prayed with

them for the purification of their hearts, beseeching them and admonishing them and instructing them with his words of wisdom and cheer. They gathered in the ancient city under whose precincts mighty empires lay in dust and in whose neighbourhood his Great Predecessor taught Eternal Wisdom to Man from His chariot on the battlefield.

But so that the Scriptures may be fulfilled, and that the world's Martyrdom may attain its perfection, behold! there comes on the scene, once more, the infamous Ashvatthama, the perverse Assassin of Ages, the vile *Brahmarakshasa* with the eternal wound on his mangled head and condemned to everlasting life of a roving ghost,— the embodiment of the accumulated evil of his race. He comes unrepentant and unrelenting, aye, even with a gusto within for his unholy design, and accomplishes his foul deed of calculated cold murder before the eyes of a staggered multitude, to the everlasting shame and humiliation of his nation.

To Thee, Father of our Nation! we pay our grateful reverent homage. We salute Thee. We rejoice in the midst of our tears and our shame. We rejoice rather than sorrow and are grateful that the merciful Providence spared Thee to us to accomplish our deliverance, however shameful and agonizing the aftermath. We glory in Thy having walked our earth. For Thou hast given to mankind new values and compelled obeisance from a recalcitrant world by challenging it once again to measure its own stature against them. Thou art indeed in the line of Thy recurring Predecessors — the Great Saviours of mankind. Thou didst come to fulfil the Scriptures and to fulfil the pledge made in the Song Celestial:

"For the protection of the Good, for the destruction of the Wicked, and for the firm establishment of righteousness on Earth, I am born again and again."

Even so through ages hast Thou lived and laboured again and again. All Thy life didst Thou wear Thy Crown of Thorns and didst bear Thy Cross, finding life's final fulfilment in surrendering it as a ransom for our own sins and shortcomings. Greater love, indeed, hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for goodwill among his fellowmen.

We salute Thee, Father of our Nation! None that hath received Thy Light shall walk in darkness.

By Mahatma Gandhi

SELECTED LETTERS—I

Chosen and Translated by: V. G. Desai

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MAHATMA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND

Though a brief statement of accounts of the fund is published in important dailies every month, it will be appropriate to give a brief resume thereof on the occasion of Gandhiji's second anniversary. The following are the totals of income and expenditure till the end of December, 1949.

Income		
Collections	Rs.	10,47,46,853- 3-10
Interest accrued	Rs.	12,17,352-11- 1
Total	Rs.	10,59,64,205-14-11
Expenditure		
Total expenditure incurred for collections	Rs.	9,10,604-13-10
Grants to Institutions etc.	Rs.	6,51,169-12- 6
Balance in the hands of provinces on account of expenses	Rs.	1,28,146- 8- 7
Total	Rs.	16,89,921- 2-11
Balance	Rs.	10,42,74,284-12- 0

Under the terms of the Trust Deed of the Fund, 75 per cent of the collections of each province, will be spent in the province itself. The remaining 25 per cent will be carried to the Centre. Contributions made to the Fund by principal Insurance Companies and Banks of the country will also go to the Centre. The trustees have been also authorized to allot to the Centre more than 25 per cent of the collections made in the principal cities of India.

India has been divided into 25 units for the purpose of administration of the fund. The Board of Trustees has decided at its meeting last month to appoint an organizer with an advisory body for each province (unit). As this is likely to take time, during the interval, a sum of Rs. five *lakhs* has been placed at the disposal of the President of the Fund for making grants to deserving constructive institutions. In addition to this the Trustees have sanctioned and paid to 18 different institutions grants to the extent of Rs. 6,51,169-12-6.

The work of the Gandhi Museum is also making good progress. It has been decided to build the principal Museum at Rajghat, Delhi.

The Provincial Committees have not yet been able to clear their accounts. Receipt books, coupons, vouchers and the final accounts have not yet been returned from villages, *talukas* and districts to their provincial office. This lethargy is responsible both for insufficient response to the appeal for funds, as also for the delay in executing the Trust.

All persons and institutions in possession of accounts, vouchers, receipt books, coupons etc., will do well to forward them immediately to their provincial office and thus help to facilitate

smooth and speedy administration. Provincial allotments can be made and work started in provinces only after provincial accounts are properly made and cleared up.

New Delhi, 12-1-'50 LAXMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM
Secretary
Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund

HARIJAN

January 29 1950

ANOTHER YEAR'S GONE BY

One more year is gone by. A thousand may go and yet he will live.

In the mirror of his life the millions see themselves. In his simplicity they feel themselves rich. In his faith they find strength and solace; rest and happiness in his philosophy. In the symmetry of his thought and conduct, his sufferings and successes, they see themselves comely.

He speaks in the spiritual parliament of mankind and summons the basic virtues. He plucks the thorn of conflict from the heart of this nation. He reconciles the creeds, his fingers softly touching the strings of the common gospel. He shines in the dark like a lamp.

Thus, as few other nations, we have been blessed in Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation. But it is a blessing that is coupled with a unique task: that we erect a memorial to his life by rendering each his life a memorial unto him, removing conflict between community and community, between religion and religion; that we become a missionary nation pledged not to pause but to succeed in bringing the peoples of the world into a common rhythm of mutual kinship.

A kindly act, a noble thought; a glad sacrifice; a timely use of tolerant imagination; a tender touch of the hand, a cheerful nod of the spirit, accruing from each every day, will kindle the light in ourselves and prepare this nation to launch forth on the Great Enterprise.

This is the call of the National Anniversary, striding through the land, this reaffirmation of faith and resolve, this introspection, and purification of the spirit.

N. K. VENKATESWARAN
Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum

REFUGE IN TRUTH

We take refuge in Thee,
Who is pledged to Truth,
Who was, is, and will remain for ever True,
Who generates Truth,
Who is the Truth of all relative truths,
Indeed, Who is Truth incarnate.

(Bhagawat, 10-2-26)

HIS AGONIES

[A copy of the following letter by Gandhiji to C. F. Andrews was furnished to me by a common friend. I am obliged to Miss Agatha Harrison, who is in charge of Mr. Andrew's records, for permitting me to publish it in *Harijan*. I do not know why the year has been marked '20/21 in the letter. Here is a case for Shri Kaka Kalelkar and Shri Pyarelal to determine whether it should be 1920 or 1921. — K. G. M.]

Calcutta,
29th January '20/21

My Dear Charlie,

I look at the problem as an Indian and a Hindu: you as an Englishman and Christian. You look at it with the eye of an observer; I as an affected and afflicted party. You *can* be patient, I cannot. Or you as a disinterested reformer can afford to be impatient whereas I as a sinner must be patient if I would get rid of the sin. I may talk glibly of the Englishman's sin in Jallianwalla. But as a Hindu I may not talk about the sin of Hinduism against the untouchables. I have to deal with Hindu Dyers. I must act and have *ever* acted. You act, you do not speak, when you feel most. Not knowing Gujarati, you do not know how furiously the question is raging in Gujarat. Do you know that I have purposely adopted a *pariah* girl? There is today at Ashram a *pariah* family again. You are doing an injustice to me in even allowing yourself to think that for a single moment I may be subordinating the question to any other. But I need not give addresses or write in English upon it. Most of those who form my audience are not hostile to the *pariahs*. I had the least difficulty about carrying the proposition about these in the Congress.

Moreover I cannot talk about things I do not know. The Namashudra question in Bengal I know only superficially. It is perhaps not one of untouchability but of the zamindar against the serfs. I am dealing with the 'sin' itself. I am attacking the sacerdotalism of Hinduism, that Hindus consider it a sin to touch a portion of the human beings because they are born in a particular environment. I am engaged *as a Hindu* in showing that it is not a sin and that it is a sin to consider that *touch* a sin. It is a bigger problem than that of gaining Indian Independence. But I can tackle it better if I gain the latter on the way. It is not impossible that India may free herself from English dominion before India has become free of the curse of untouchability. Freedom from English domination is one of the essentials of Swaraj and the absence of it is blocking the way to all progress. Do you know that today those who are opposing me in Gujarat are actually supporting the Government and the latter are playing them against me?

I began to think about you and the question at 2 a.m. Not being able to sleep I began to write (to) you at 4 a.m. I have not written all I want to say on the question. This is no apology. I have not been able to clear the point for

you as it is clear to me. What you have written in your letter about students is right. You are thinking as an Englishman. I must not keep one thing from you. The *Gujarati* is endeavouring to weaken my position by saying that I have been influenced *by you* in this matter, meaning thereby that I am not speaking as a Hindu but as one having been spoiled by being under your influence. This is all rotten I know. I began this in S. A. before I ever heard of you and was conscious of the sin of untouchability before I came under other Christian influences in S. A. The truth came to me when I was yet a child. I used to laugh at my dear mother for making me bathe if we brothers touched any *pariah*. It was in 1897 that I was prepared in Durban to turn Mrs. Gandhi away from the house because she would not treat on a footing of equality Lawrence who, she knew, belonged to the *pariah* clan, and whom I had invited to stay with me. It has been a passion of my life to serve the untouchables because I have felt that I cannot remain a Hindu if it was true that untouchability was a part of Hinduism.

I have only told you half the truth. I feel as keenly about the Kalighat as I do about the untouchables. Whenever I am in Calcutta the thought of the goats being sacrificed haunts me and makes me uneasy. I asked Harilal not to settle in Calcutta on that account. The *pariah* can voice his own grief. He can petition. He can even rise against Hindus, but the poor dumb goats! I sometimes writhe in agony when I think of it. But I do not speak or write about it. All the same I am qualifying myself for the service of these fellow-creatures of mine who are slaughtered in the name of my Faith. I may not finish the work in this incarnation. I shall be born again to finish that work or someone who has realized my agony will finish it. The point is, the Hindu way is different from the modern way. It is the way of *tapasya*. I do believe that the Christian way is not different from the Hindu. I am still not satisfied that I have told you all that is just now rising to my pencil. But I dare say I have said sufficient for you to understand. Only please do not take this letter to be a complaint if it is not to be taken as an apology. Your reply to Sir William Vincent is perfect.

I know you will let Dr. Chiman Das go if he wishes to. What is wanted is for Santiniketan to come out boldly for non-co-operation in the religious sense. My fear is that Gurudev has not yet realized the absolute truth and the necessity of it.

I am likely to leave here on the fourth instant (proximo ?) on my way to Delhi. I am in Benares on the 9th. I am sending a personal letter to Corbett. With deep love.

Yours

MOHAN

THE PASSING OF GANDHIJI

All are at the Prayer Meeting. All is over in a trice. All are stricken with the bullets. The blank eyes fill with dizziness. The yellow lamp in the evening sky is suddenly put out. In each heart is a deep sigh.

He lies wrapped in repose. A rare silence overlies the smile. An invisible spirit hovers over the spot.

The procession moves across the eye of mankind. Delhi is today the City of the Temple of grief to come to in pilgrimage from every part of the earth. The sad stream reels and rolls. The sun looks with a red glance and goes down abruptly. The flame gathers: the pyre burns.

It is the middle of the night. The sentinels stand hanging in mist. The still sky bends low. The fabled river puts forth a tremor. Now and then a tongue of flame flutters.

Without a stir or sign there is a cortege coiling out of the river's bed. It is the procession of mourners from the dreaming past. The most lustrous in the company linger by the scene, where now the flames begin to lie down, while the main body marches. A sheet of mist studded with dew shuts out the sentinels from the episode.

Then the first glimmerings of daybreak appear at the meeting of the sacred rivers in which Gautama had bathed and Krishna swum and played. Then in the returning light of the day there stands forth the certainty that the voice that had been stilled will speak again: the light that had been put out will evermore shine.

N. K. VENKATESWARAN

Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum

WHAT DID GANDHI LEAVE TO INDIA ? *

I think the heading is a misnomer. For what Mahatma Gandhi has left behind is for the whole world and not for India alone. He lived and died for peace and goodwill upon earth, and he was convinced that it could never be achieved unless and until there was a living acceptance of the principles of truth and non-violence by mankind.

The ideology of non-violence is as old as the hills. It has been preached and practised by the sages from time immemorial in every country and every religion. But it was accepted only as the ideal for the individual, the man of God who had renounced the world. Mahatma Gandhi, with his clear and precise thinking, came to the conclusion that what was good and practical for one man must be so for the masses of mankind too. Similarly he realized that life was one continuous whole. It could not be divided into separate compartments. If it was desirable for one to be truthful and non-violent in his personal life, it must be so in the social, economic and political spheres too.

He derived inspiration from the *Bhagawadgita*, the Sermon on the Mount, the writings of

* Address delivered at the Institute of International Relations in Texas, U. S. A.

Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau, but it was left to him to put their theories into practice and demonstrate to the world that non-violence could be used to rectify every wrong, and that it could be practised on a mass scale as an effective substitute for war or violent revolution. He started practising non-violent resistance or "Satyagraha" (meaning insistence on truth) by fighting the injustice of colour prejudice in South Africa. He had gone there to make his fortune as a barrister, but the injustice inflicted upon the Indian community there oppressed him, and he took up the fight for redressing their wrongs. The non-violent resistance movement organized by him kept him in that country for twenty years, and after the successful culmination of that struggle, he returned to India. There he used the same weapon to attain the freedom of India. You all are familiar with that struggle and its successful termination. No country in the world has had a bloodless revolution of that type.

Mahatma Gandhi objected to the term Passive Resistance for his movement, for he believed that non-violence is the most dynamic force on earth. The weapon is infallible, but one who wishes to wield it must acquire the requisite qualification to do so. The principle is to convert the opponent to our own way of thinking by making him see his mistake. It is done through non-co-operation with the wrong-doer, and through active civil resistance of what appears to us to be wrong, and cheerfully suffering the consequences thereof. The last weapon in the armoury of a *satyagrahi*, or civil resister, is self-suffering through fasting, which serves the triple purpose of self-introspection, invoking the help of God, and affecting the opponent's heart through self-suffering. But the self-suffering, in order to be effective, must be pure. The objective must be above selfish ends and aimed at the good of both sides. The *satyagrahi* must be full of love for the opponent and never harbour the least ill-will or desire for revenge or retaliation. Non-violence must never be used as a cloak for cowardice.

It requires a courage of a far superior type to die without killing than to die in the process of killing. And the utmost that one can do is to stake one's life for the defence of what one believes to be right.

A question might be asked if it is possible to make the sacrifices that are required in the practice of non-violent resistance. The answer is that the sacrifices involved in violent warfare are far greater in the long run and the results far poorer. Only the intoxication of war and violence makes it easier to make them at the time.

Another question often asked is whether it was the effectiveness of the non-violent struggle in India and the consequent change of heart that led to the British withdrawal, or whether it was the world situation that forced them to quit. Gandhiji's reply to that question was that he did not believe that it was the world situation which forced them to quit, but even if it were granted for the sake of argument, it detracted nothing from the efficacy of non-violence, for in human affairs there is always an unknown factor beyond human calculations. A living faith in God is absolutely necessary for one who will practise non-violence, said Mahatma Gandhi. For, there will be moments when there will be utter darkness and a blind wall in front. Nothing but a living faith will sustain a *satyagrahi* at such times. But if one perseveres, the way will open, and the unknown will produce situations which no one could have dreamt of.

Another argument often put forth is that non-violence succeeded against the British, as they are a civilized people. It would have never worked against Hitler or Stalin. Gandhiji's reply was that non-violence never fails. The harder the heart that has to be melted, the greater must be the suffering and sacrifice of the non-violent resisters, coupled with love and goodwill towards the oppressor. In other words, one must make a distinction between the sin and sinner, and while we must dislike and resist wrong, we may have nothing but goodwill and compassion towards the wrong-doer. Moreover, a non-violent resister must have his own hands clean. A small thief cannot hope to persuade a bigger thief to give up thievery through non-violence and self-suffering.

Constructive Programme

While Gandhiji presented the technique of *Satyagraha* or non-violent resistance as a potent means of securing justice in the domestic, social, national and international fields, he knew full well and emphasized the importance of constructive work as the basis of a non-violent social order. For that he insisted upon decentralized economy. Centralization places a power in the hands of a few, whether they may be the capitalists or the State itself, and therefore, reduces the freedom of the individual. He believed in the principle "to all according to their need, and from all according to their capacity", but it was to be accepted voluntarily. Moral pressure might have to be used to convert those who possessed far more than they needed to become trustees of their wealth, but he did not believe in beheading them. For violence never really solves any problem, though it might appear to do so at the moment. In his opinion the failure of the French and the Russian revolutions to achieve their high objectives was due to the fact that they used violence and even resorted to untruth to achieve them.

Besides voluntary sharing there was emphasis on voluntary reduction of material wants as opposed to the drive to possess more and more. He presented the ideology of simple living and high thinking. He emphasized the importance of physical labour as a means of self-expression and creative joy and asked the people to use

first the most wonderful machine given to them by God — their own two hands. When they had exhausted the potentialities thereof, they could use other means to supplement it so that the machine remained the servant of man and did not become his master, reducing him to a mere peg in the mechanical giant. Therefore, he emphasized the need for handicrafts and a system of education which trains the children's heads through developing the skill of their hands. This system of education, called 'Basic Education', is based on the same idea as progressive education in this country. Only it is more comprehensive and links up non-violence with education so as to turn the aggression of the child into creative channels from an early age.

He fought for the removal of untouchability and insisted upon the eradication of all distinctions based on caste, colour and creed. There was to be equal respect and regard for all religions, since all religions presented the same truth and there were good and bad men among the followers of all faiths. It was the practice of the spirit of religion that mattered, and not the labels. The practice of non-violence and truth in thought, word and deed, and exercise of self-control with regard to all so-called basic drives of man were the essential discipline which gave one the strength to work out a non-violent pattern of life based on the constructive programme.

Is It Practical ?

A question might be asked whether it is ever possible for all men to practise these high principles. Gandhiji's reply was that not all mankind consists of armed forces. Those who enlist in the army have to receive training in arms. Similarly the soldiers of non-violence must undergo training in non-violence. And just as not every soldier knows all the ins and outs of war policies, similarly in non-violence the general has to be familiar with the intricacies of the application of non-violence to various situations and formulate policies. The soldiers must obey, but they must have faith in the weapon that they are using, and must endeavour to follow the disciplines necessary for the practice of non-violence. War and violence have been glorified through the ages. If even a fraction of that effort were spent on making peace attractive, or if even a fraction of the effort spent on training armed forces were spent on providing training in non-violence, there is no limit to the potentialities of non-violence. India's non-violent struggle was conducted by masses who were utterly untrained, and the General, Mahatma Gandhi, also received training in the process of our struggle. Our non-violence was very imperfect, no doubt, but if that could achieve what it has done, how much more could real non-violence of the brave do ? That is the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi has left to India and the world.

The essence of it all is that one can never achieve the right end by using the wrong means. As opposed to the doctrine, "the end justifies the means", Mahatma Gandhi held, "Means are more important than the end. If you take care of the means, the end will take care of itself." His experiment proved that freedom can be won through non-violence. It remains for all free nations of the world, including India, to demonstrate that freedom can be maintained through non-violence. In fact, that is the only way of securing real freedom for the masses, of achieving true democracy. Half-hearted democracy of the present day cannot stand against the tide of Communism. The democracy preached by Mahatma Gandhi can and will, if we have the courage to follow his teachings.

SUSHILA NAYAR

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF BAPU *

There must be few in this world who could equal the amount of work which Bapu did. But under heaviest pressure of work and worry Bapu could have a healthy laugh. On hearing the sound of his laughter from a neighbouring room, I used to get astonished and my esteem for him grew. Once I asked him how he could laugh so in the midst of seriousness. His reply was that had he not had that capacity, he would have gone mad a long while ago.

Another remarkable habit of Bapu consisted in punctually taking part in such small routine of the Ashram as cutting vegetables and serving food. I would often ask myself if President Roosevelt or Mr. Winston Churchill could ever be expected to do that.

Another characteristic of his which struck me deeply was his insistence on going round the Ashram at least once in a day, and see the inmates, especially the sick ones. It impressed me very much.

Once I visited the Ashram in the company of my wife. During our stay Bapu took personal interest in our comforts and especially of my wife. He would not miss to remember her before dining, bathing or retiring.

I remember an incident which impressed me much at the time. Bapu had just recovered from serious illness. Shri Ambalal Sarabhai and his wife Shri Sarladevi of Ahmedabad were anxious that Bapu should get perfect rest and doubted if he could do so at the Ashram. They invited him to their bungalow. Bapu thanked them in sweet and kind words, but did not agree to leave the Ashram.

(From Gujarati) RICHARD B. GREGG

* From notes of a speech delivered by Richard B. Gregg at Kanyashram, Madhi (Bardoli).

A SEVERE CONDEMNATION

The judgment of Shri M. S. Patil, Judge of the Special Tribunal in the case known as Sabarmati Prison Firing is a severe condemnation of the Prison and Police officers involved in the incident. It will be remembered that on the night of the 13th August 1949, there was some trouble in the Sabarmati Central Prison. It was met by the authorities by lathi-charges and firing, leading to the death of two detenus Jayantilal Parekh and Jamnadas Modi and severe or minor injuries to 17 others.

There was a general feeling among the public that the action of the authorities was high-handed and unjustifiable, and there was a demand for public inquiry. This was answered by the Bombay Government instituting a criminal case against the detenus themselves on a charge of forming an unlawful assembly, rioting and incidental offences. A Special Tribunal presided over by Shri M. S. Patil was appointed for the purpose. The judge has now delivered his judgment (6th January 1950). He has almost wholly disbelieved the evidence of the prosecution witnesses, including that of responsible officers like the Superintendent of Prison, Senior Jailor, Deputy Superintendent of Police, and the first investigating Magistrate. He has doubted even the truthfulness of the records made by them. He has held that there was no justification even for a lathi-charge, much less for shooting. This means that the death of two young men and infliction of grave injuries on 17 other prisoners was brought about by acts of wanton irresponsibility on the part of officers who were thoroughly incompetent and morally unfit to hold positions of trust. The judge has further held that the force used by the prisoners themselves to resist the police attack was in self-defence, and he has justified all the 17 surviving detenus for whatever injuries they might have caused to the Prison and Police authorities during the scuffle. The only offence for which the detenus have been found guilty is of forming an unlawful assembly with the common intention of resisting the order of transfer of some of their comrades.

This event must not be taken as an isolated incident. Unless the judgment itself is off the record, it shows that the morale of the Police and Prison Department is very low and a disgrace to the popular Government. I hope the Government will take severe action against the offending officers and also impress upon its departments better and higher standards of duty.

Bombay, 14-1-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

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OFFERING OF YARN-HANKS

Shri Vinoba has explained the idea underlying the offering of yarn-hanks in his note: *Some Suggestions for Sarvodaya Mela (Harijan* 8-1-'50). For the information of readers further instructions are given below:

(1) Inquiries have been made to know how the yarn received by way of offering will be utilized. In this connection, the Sarva Seva Sangh at its meeting on 24-12-'49 passed the following resolution:

"It is necessary to issue instructions to the public about the details of the programme of the *Sarvodaya* observance (30th January to 12th February). As a part of the programme, village cleanliness, scavenging in cities, propaganda of *Sarvodaya* idea and literature and offering of yarn-hanks should be emphasized. The Sarva Seva Sangh will receive the yarn so collected, and its use will so far as possible be made for holding Sarvodaya Melas to be held on the 12th February every year.

"The Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh will make arrangements for receiving the yarn so contributed".

It has been decided that yarn need not be sent to the Sarva Seva Sangh Office but should be locally collected, sorted according to count, weighed and a classified statement only of the total yarn should be furnished to the Sarva Seva Sangh Office. The use to which it is to be put, will be decided later on.

(2) Each hank should be marked with the full name and address of the spinner. Organizers of Sarvodaya Melas should enter their names and addresses in their registers. This will facilitate making contact with donors.

(3) A report of the thirteen-day-observance and Melas should be made to the undersigned.

(From Hindi) VALLABHSWAMI
Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh
Gopuri, Wardha

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